COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" There he (MR. ADDINGTON) sits to receive the attacks of the new Confederacy, who are not strong " in numbers, but great in talents. He is a sort of *outside passenger*, or rather, *a man leading the horses* " *round a corner*, with reins, and whip, and all, are in the hands of the coachman on the box! *(looking* " *at Mr. Pitt who sate above Mr. Addington)*. When the Ex Minister quitted office almost all the sub- " ordinate Ministers kept their places. How was this? The only way in which I can solve this " strange division of parts is this:—Aristophanes tells a story somewhat in point. He says, that " Nycias sat so long in one posture, (perhaps as long as the Ex-Minister sat on the Treasury Bench) " that he adhered to the seat; so that when Hercules came to snatch him away, in a sudden jerk, a " *certain portion* of his SITTING PART WAS LEFT BEHIND HIM *(Loud laughing)*.——The House can " make the allusion."——MR. SHERIDAN'S SPEECH, MAY 14, 1802.—*See Register, Vol. II. p.* 1366

INQUISITOR. LETTER VI.

July 30, 1803.

DEAR SIR,——I know not whether, notwithstanding the expressions you have used to me about them, you may not have found my letters so multiplied in number, and so large in size, as to render me rather a fatiguing correspondent. I rely, however, on your kindness, and hope you will excuse my being a little carried away by my subject; particularly as that subject has been nothing less than the defence of these kingdoms against the attacks of jacobin, regicide, France. I was first excited to take up the pen in order to give you some account of the measures adopted by government for the defence of the country, by bringing in the Army of Reserve Bill. My first letter, accordingly, contained some strictures on that measure; my second, detailed the alterations and improvements which it received as it passed through Parliament. Having thus commenced, I was led on to consider a little the wisdom and policy of the defensive system as now adopted by ministers; and then to detail the plan of offence, which I, in such a case as the present, would recommend to be adopted. Perhaps my subject seems naturally to close at this place. I cannot, however, allow myself, after troubling you so much, to release you without saying a word or two more on the subject of the defensive system adopted by ministers; and, as far as I can judge, approved of by the country. And I do this the rather, as I hear buzzing all around me, exultations and congratulations at the spirit of the people, now roused and manifested. People every where now tell you, that Englishmen have at last been roused to a sense of their danger, have a full conviction of the hostile designs of the enemy, and a proper hatred and detestation for him; and that, in consequence, they are every where rising in arms; to do—what? Why; to resist his attacks, and to defend themselves. I remember having somewhere read a story of a Spartan General distinguished for his courage, who happened to seize a mouse; the little animal by way of resistance, bit the General's finger, who smarting from the pain, opened his hand and released the mouse, observing, " there was no animal, however " insignificant, to whom nature had not " given the means of defending itself, if it " chose to use them." I really think this little anecdote is a pretty exact prototype of our present situation. By the Spartan General is represented the ruler of jacobin France: by the mouse, the people of this country; who, after having tried every possible shift and contrivance to avoid the hostility of France, when there is no possibility of doing so, and there is an imminent probability of an immediate attack at home, are willing to whet their swords in order to give the invader a smart bite, which will compel him to retreat. The only thing assumed is the success of the plan. For my own part, I do not think it quite so clear, that if we once allow our enemy to reach us, he will be so easily compelled to let go his hold. But granting that point, the instance is correct. The comparative size, power, and unjust invasions of the rights of the mouse on the one hand; on the other, the meekness, timidity, and attempts to avoid and conceal itself, and at length, when nothing else would do, *the amazing spirit and courage* plucked up, and *the tremendous wound inflicted:* all this is correct; and I dare say, our spirited heroes, who are so gallantly coming forward for *home defence*, are all ready to exclaim, at the atrocious perfidy of this bullying general, and the wonderful and successful spirit of the mouse. I certainly shall be very sorry to impair the sensations of internal satisfaction which these gentlemen may feel at the display of their own courage, as exemplified by this antient sto-

ry; but for the sake of my country, I must tell them, that neither in the behaviour of themselves, or of their prototype, do I see, any more than the Spartan General did, any great appearance of courage or spirit. I think the story is in Enfield's Extracts, a book which was given me a good many years ago, when I was at school, and, which I have not now by me; but, those of my readers who have it, may refer to the anecdote and see, whether or not I have truly given the exclamation of the wounded general. He did not cry out, (as we are expecting Buonaparté to do) "What a brave "spirited mouse!" No, his exclamation was, "there is no animal, *however insignifi-* "*cant*, to whom nature has not given the "means of defending itself, if it chose to "use them." Thus too, I think our conduct, if successful, may be a good example, that no country, any more than any individual, is left without the means of defending itself; but that is by no means a proof either of spirit or of courage. For after all what is it, nothing more nor less than this; we say, "Here is an enemy, in designs most virulent against us, in power most formidable, "and whose dominion, if he is successful, "will be the most grievous calamity. Not "a passing calamity of which we may hope "soon to see an end, but an eternal slavery "accompanied with every aggravation "which can accompany loss of freedom, of "property, and independence. We will do "our utmost to prevent and avert this horrible destruction; we will be well armed, "and well prepared; and, whenever the "enemy comes, we will do our best to resist." So did the mouse; it bit the general and escaped. It wished to avoid his destructive grasp, and perhaps, the tortures which were preparing for it; we do the same, we know how horrible those tortures will be; our wives and children ravished and murdered before our eyes, our houses pillaged, our churches ransacked and defiled, our persons exposed to torments and to death; and we naturally must resist the attacks of those who are preparing all these things for us. To neglect doing so, would not show so much a want of courage, as an absolute want of sense, and an imbecility of mind. There is no one so fearful of pain, as not to be willing to submit to have a tooth pulled out, in order to avoid the pains of tooth-ache. There is no coward who will not fight, rather than be put to death at once. On these grounds, though I am very willing to allow those gallant volunteers for *home defence* all the merit of a proper sense of the danger and of the calamities of French dominion, I cannot admit, that as yet by their conduct, they have made any demonstration of extraordinary courage and spirit. I shall, doubtless, be asked, in what case I could allow that the country did display these qualities. Why, I should allow it, when I see men upon due consideration of all the calamities which even an unsuccessful invasion by a French army would bring upon the country, of the desirableness of preventing such an attempt, and of a proper horror at the idea of even suffering a French army to put its foot on British land, rising in great numbers, and offering their services to go and destroy the enemy in his own lurking holes. When every parish turns out a company of volunteers for general service, then I shall admit, and no one will be more ready to perceive, or more happy to admit it, that this country does display a spirit worthy of itself, and adequate to its dangers.——There is one thing, in which, I think, I may however unwillingly, have the appearance of speaking unfairly of the country; and that is, when I speak of its not making any display of courage or of spirit. Certainly I do not mean to say now, that it does make such a display; but the blame is not, I think, so much to be attributed to the disposition of the country, as to the rulers of it. I do not exempt it altogether from blame: by no means; but I think, that even if there had been a much greater portion of it in the country, than I believe to exist, the measures of administration have been such, as not only not to call it forth, and to give it activity and vigour, but, actually to weigh it down and to prevent its manifesting itself. That government have a prodigious influence on the popular mind, is, I think, perfectly undeniable, and perfectly proper. A notorious instance of its force was displayed by the great cry raised in favour of the Treaty of Amiens. All that influence has now been exerted to damp the ardour and check the spirit of the people. If any one expressed a high sense of the danger, and called on the government and the country to act in consequence, the danger to that extent was denied. If any measure was proposed adequate to the emergency, the person so proposing was ridiculed as desponding, and blamed as endeavouring to dispirit the country. The object of all these tricks and manœuvres will be readily understood after you have read the conclusion of my last letter. The effect has been in the first instance (what was desired) to leave the present ministers in quiet possession of their places, and of their heads; in the second place, to reduce the country

to such a state in point of energy and in point of preparation, as to be compelled to look with hope to nothing better than the repulsion of the attacks and the defeat of invading enemies. That the desire of preserving their places, and the still more forcible one of preserving their heads, is the cause of the measures they have adopted, I must think, till I am convinced that they really are so intolerably stupid as not to perceive, that for defence itself a purely defensive system is wholly inadequate, beyond a very few months indeed, that it is necessarily ruinous, and more and more ruinous in proportion as it is complete; and that while it throws you under all these difficulties it gives to the enemy every advantage he can possibly desire. If he is not so impatient for our destruction as not to be able to wait a very few months to effect it, while he is preparing new means of attack, and new instruments of vengeance and cruelty wherewith to torture us, we, like able and indefatigable pioneers, are levelling every obstacle that may retard his progress, and making the way to him easy and pleasant. We are exhausting our finances; we are burthening the country with enormous taxes; and these war-taxes too, that is, we are doing every thing to depress the people and make them dissatisfied with the war; we do nothing to enspirit or enliven them, but above all we habituate them to the idea of a French invasion; and some little notion of French dominion too is already growing up, and if the probability of admitting the one, or bearing the other, is but once broached, then are we lost indeed. Of this, however, I will say nothing more at present, but just to ask, what would have been the sensations of the country some 40 or 50 years ago, if it had been told, that with such a probability as now exists of invasion, Englishmen talked of nothing but arming for home defence? And let me just observe too, that a line of policy invariably pursued by the French, and hitherto successfully, has been to prepare the countries marked out as their victims, not only by the secret and hidden workings of their emissaries, but by open and avowed declarations of their schemes and intentions; that thereby these victims, being familiarized to the idea, might have less energy to resist, when the attack is really made.——So much for the wisdom of ministers in adopting the defensive system, and the spirit of the people in falling in with it. With respect to offensive war, that, in my opinion, is clearly necessary for our safety. Of military offensive operations I can say nothing, but with the enormous military power which France now possesses, I am convinced no military exertions, which this country can make, will make much impression on her, unless they are aided by offensive operations of another sort, such as I described in my 4th letter. From them, however, aided by military means, I have no scruple to repeat, that I should entertain the most sanguine hopes of success.——I shall now take leave of you, my good friend, concluding with the expression of a most earnest and serious hope, that as we are attacked by a nation with the avowed intention of destroying our liberties and independence, joined to a sect whose avowed object is no less than the destruction of the religion of Christ, of virtue, social order, moral principles, and civil society; so we will unite in resistance to these united enemies, every honourable feeling, every virtuous principle, every patriotic sentiment that can belong or ought to belong to a Briton and a Christian; that we will avow as our object, on the one hand, the securing our own independence and safety, on the other, the establishment on a firm basis of the liberties of Europe and mankind, and the upholding that religion, under whose influence alone morality and virtue are established in this world; and the good have a certain prospect of happiness beyond the grave. In sustaining such a cause no means but those of virtue and honour should be employed, and those in the most open and avowed manner, as it would be disgraced if aided by any thing contrary to them, so it ought to be supported by every thing consistent with them, by the labours and the arms of all the brave and loyal, and by the anxious wishes and prayers of the pious and good throughout the world. ——I am, &c. &c. INQUISITOR.

P. S. In reading over the former part of this letter, it has struck me, that as the mouse, by means of its bite, escaped out of the hands of its captor; so people may argue, that to keep up the comparison this country has a right to expect similar safety. To this I reply, that though I think it probable the comparison may not hold good in that particular; yet, admitting that it does, it by no means follows, that the mouse was not caught the next day, and kept in spite of its teeth. Besides, I dare say, its sides were a little sore from the grasp which it had received in the mean-time. Now it would be a curious speculation to calculate, 1st, the degree of sufferance the mouse underwent on this occasion; and 2dly, by a rule of three, to find out what to this country would be an equal portion. In this

must certainly (if strictness is resorted to) be taken into the account. On a rough calculation I should presume, that the complete ravaging of the counties of Kent, Sussex, Surry, and Middlesex, and the destruction of all the property they contained might be about the mark. I.

August 7, 1803.

SIR,——We humble politicians, who are not Members of Parliament, always look for and read with great avidity the accounts of the Debates of the House of Commons, which find their way into the public prints. That the public, have a right thus to be informed of what these representatives are saying and doing, is a point which I am told, certain members of that House are inclined to deny. But I could observe, to those persons, that if they do not look sharply about them, this right will be established by prescription, whatever the Statute Law or the Book of Orders may say on the subject. Indeed, the House of Commons has within the last two months grown a little more tenacious of their power; and has several times ordered the gallery to be cleared; the object of those orders seems to have been to prevent us from knowing what might be the military statements of Col. Crawford, respecting the defence of the country. I suppose, by endeavouring to conceal these statements, it is meant to adopt the hints contained in them, and act accordingly; which, I believe, no man who has ever heard of Col. Crawford would regret. But to return; since these orders have been repeated two or three times, the rights of the public to be acquainted with the proceedings of the House seem to have extended themselves; and what is still more extraordinary, the power of the House to conceal has in an equal degree diminished. For I observe, that though the gallery was cleared on Tuesday last, the 2d inst. we have in one or two papers on Thursday and Friday, a succinct account of the debates which then took place; nay, some of the gentlemen's speeches appeared at full length. I think this matter would be well worth the consideration of some public-spirited member of the House; and that this etiquette between the Parliament and the public should at least be settled on some firm basis. In the mean time, if these debates and speeches are to be published, I presume it is allowable to comment on such publications, and it is with this view, Mr. Cobbett, that I now take up my pen to address you.——In the Morning Post of Friday last, the 5th, you will find in a speech attributed to Mr. Sheridan, and meant as a reply to Mr. Windham, an attempt to affix to the latter gentleman the charge of attempting constantly, to discourage and to dishearten the country. "First," says Mr. Sheridan, "to promote exertion in every "individual as if upon him alone depended the "salvation of the state, you are to assure them "that the country is lost, unless one specified in-"dividual is the minister." Now, I rather think there is some mistake here; for, if my memory does not play me an unusual trick in this instance, I very much doubt Mr. Windham's ever having said this; and the more so, as I really cannot now say, whether by that individual is supposed to be meant Mr. W. himself or Mr. Pitt. I know some other persons have spoken of Mr. Pitt in that way; but, I doubt much that Mr. W. has ever done so; especially, as their opinions on the subject of the Peace of Amiens, (the grand point of Mr. W's dissent from the measures of ministers,) were so diametrically opposite. I rather think the Morning Post, instead of the words, "one specified individual is" should have said "certain specified individuals are not," and then, I verily believe, that however false an object may be attributed to the sentiment, the sentiment itself is such, as that very few persons in the country will choose positively to deny, however unwilling they may be to act up to it. But Mr. W. is accused of saying this in order "to promote exer-"tion" if it is meant to be said that it has a contrary effect, that I deny, but, I deny that it is said in order to promote exertion. Mr. W. has in other places, and at other times, used the language fit and proper to promote exertion; this is only meant to point out one of these objects to which that exertion ought to be directed, viz. to cast the ministers from their places; I should go on to say for myself, and to punish their crimes; beginning with the first visit made by Lord Hawkesbury to the Commissary for French prisoners, and ending, probably, at the last act of their administration. But it will be said, this is not a time to do this work; this same Mr. Sheridan is reported on another occasion to have said, "Do not tell me who "is minister, but where is the enemy." There is a certain specious air of public spirit in this; but it is specious only, and the thing is really so foolish, that I could scarcely have credited that any M. P. would have used such an argument. How does it stand? The persons who wish to oust ministers, are of course, those who have neither a good opinion of them, nor confidence in their abilities, judgment, courage, activity nor wisdom. They, therefore, wish to get rid of them; but Mr. S. says, no, the enemy is at the door, think of that; but at first drive them back, and then let us talk about the ministers. This may be very well for himself and others, who have lately learnt to find the present ministers the best, the wisest, the most active and constitutional ministers, that ever ruled in this country; but that at present is nothing to the purpose; for he is using this argument as against persons, who think them the most weak, impotent, absurd, and base; and who of course have no confidence in them, would be sorry to be directed by them at any period, but most of all at a time of danger and peril. The argument only goes, therefore, to those who wish to oust them on account of their inability, and will really stand thus. "The ministers are the most incapable that ever "were, and by their incapacity have brought this "country into the greatest peril that ever threat-"ened it, still let them occupy their places and "continue to rule." This is really the argument, and is so absurd, that I think even Mr. S. himself must be sensible of the folly of it. If he is not, let him consider for one minute, what the consequence of it is; viz. the greater the inability of any minister, and the greater the peril with which he brings the country, the less inclined ought the House of Commons to be to punish him. For I defy any man to produce an argument in support of that much eulogized sentence, "Let us consider "not who the minister is, but where is the ene-"my," which does not rest upon the magnitude of the peril, which in its turn depends on the inability of the ministers, and which argument, therefore, will be the stronger, the greater the peril; or which is the same thing, the more incapable the ministers. 2dly, says Mr. S. "to inspire the people

" with a high idea of maintaining their honour " and dignity, you are to assure them that since " the accursed peace of Amiens, they have neither honour nor dignity left to contend for; that " they have touched the base string of humility; that " they have received kicks innumerable on the " seat of honour; that they have irretrievably disgraced their ancestors, and must inevitably be " the scorn of their posterity. This is the argument to raise a noble spirit in defence of character and honour."—Here again as before, the question must be begged, viz. that the treaty has had the consequences here mentioned. Mr. W. thinks it has, and therefore, can only act and speak consistently with that opinion. Having therefore, that opinion, I really think that to represent it in the strongest possible light is the very best and most likely way " to inspire them " with a high idea," not " of maintaining," but of recovering " their honour and dignity." Mr. W. thinks it is best; it is therefore, not to be maintained, but to be recovered; but, Mr. S. says, in order to make them recover it, you must by no means tell them that it is lost. Why, pray? forsooth, for fear they should be dispirited, and instead of exerting themselves to recover it, should sit down contented under the loss. Mr. W. on the other hand, in a forcible manner, says to the people of England. " By no fault of yours, but " by the measures of weak and wicked ministers, " in whom you have placed a mistaken confi- " dence, your honour has been betrayed, and your " dignity sacrificed; you have had repeated in- " sults and injuries offered to you, which have " lowered you in the eyes of the present age, and " will disgrace you in the opinion of posterity, " unless, now at length, you betake yourselves to " such measures as will show, that you have lost " nothing of your ancient spirit, courage, and valour, and that you are still worthy of the high " name you formerly bore." Which, I ask, which of the above sentiments is honourable, and which is insulting to the country? But Mr. Sheridan proceeds, thirdly, " to encourage the martial hopes " of the nation, knowing that you have but a very " limited force of the line, and that it is absolutely impossible to increase it by any force " that has experienced actual service: you are to " endeavour to make it a matter of demonstration " that all efforts of militia, yeomanry, and volunteer corps, will be perfectly inefficient and contemptible, when opposed to the experienced " and disciplined armies which alone France will " bring into this country. This is to inspire a " martial confidence in three-fourths of all the " force we have to resist the enemy." And then goes on to his fourth attack as follows; fourthly, " in order to create a patriotic devotion in all " ranks of people to offer their purses and persons " to the disposal of the government, you are to " assure them that every deposit either of wealth " or force, placed in such hands, is not only a " perfect waste of the resources of the country, " but a mischievous deposit placed in hands utterly incapable of applying them to any beneficial purpose" These two last I shall consider together, because, I conceive the same general arguments apply to each. In the first place, I will observe on them, that if I judge right, (and prove the line of conduct Mr. W. has always pursued in public life, I apprehend he agrees with me in that point), the business of a member of parliament is purely and solely to consult for the good of the state. He ought to have no other view. Mr. Sheridan, will doubtless agree with me, that he would be betraying his trust, if he any ways sought by his conduct in Parliament to curry favour with a minister or at court; and I confess, that for my own part, I can see no difference in his behaviour, if the object be favour with the multitude and popular applause. The Parliament I have always looked upon as the great council of the nation. The good of the nation, the end to be pursued by the members, the counsellors. I have always been taught too, to believe, that a counsellor only did his duty properly, when he gave the advice in his mind best calculated to promote the object for which his advice was asked, without at all attending to any ulterior considerations; such as whether it was most palatable, most agreeable, most flattering to the feelings of those who asked the advice or not. According to this doctrine, I really think, that a member of parliament would but betray his trust, if he really thinking that the militia, yeomanry, and volunteer corps, were not fit troops to be opposed to the experienced, disciplined armies of France, he should omit to urge that opinion in Parliament. The question is not whether or not they are fit; the question is, whether Mr. W. thinking them unfit, ought or ought not to say so. Mr. S. says no, lest he should damp the martial hopes of the country. The orders of the House say, what is spoken in debate in the House, shall not be made public; how then can he urge in the House, that what is so spoken will damp the hopes of the country? Are the orders of the House disobeyed? Then should Mr. S. insist on these orders being punctually executed. The effect imputed to Mr. W's speeches may be a very good argument to make him do that, but can be no argument at all, why Mr. W. should betray his trust, and not speak his mind. The real fact is, that the House have now gotten into an awkward predicament from having suffered their debates to be made public. Every body feels how awkwardly situated the Privy Council, for instance, would be, if their consultations were hawked about in the streets, or the public papers, and opinions therein given, commented upon, replied to, argued, refuted, contradicted, &c. in every Gazette in Europe. The same reasoning applies, though, perhaps, with somewhat less force to the consultations of Parliament. The House of Parliament are composed, the one of the hereditary, the other of the elected counsellors of the King; and are accountable for their counsel to none but to God and their country. These houses have unwarily suffered a tribunal to erect itself over them; which, though it begins to be troublesome, has as yet no authority; and to whose proceedings, as they are able to do it, I think they would be wise if they put an immediate stop. Mr. S. does not feel in this case, that it is at all proper for such arguments as Mr. W's, to be urged at all; but he will not deny, that other people may think them such; and if so, at least he will grant me, that those who think so, should be allowed to urge them without being reproached on the one hand, and without damping the hopes of the country on the other.——I think, I have now pretty well shown the absurdity of these attacks of Mr. Sheridan's. With respect to the opinions given, they were not at all in dispute, the question is merely, whether these opinions existing in the breast of Mr. Windham, he is or is not justified in urging them. Some of the opinions themselves, I may, perhaps, take some future opportunity of examining, and I doubt not, that I

shall be able to show, that any attacks made on them are as little justifiable, as the attack now made on Mr. W. for merely stating them.

I am, yours, &c. ANNIBAL.

EPIGRAM.

In Richmond's shades the Premier sat,
Discoursing o'er his wine;
"What name, dear Hiley, shall we give
"To this sweet place of mine?"

A wicked wag the question heard
Behind a neighb'ring tree;
"Call it, *dear Doctor*"! straight he cried,
"The VILLA MEDICI."

Anti-medicus.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Letter from Lieut. Gen. Mortier, Commander in Chief of the French Army in Hanover, to the Minister of War.

Head-quarters, Hanover, July 21, 1803.

Citizen Minister—I cannot but commend the order and good faith which have distinguished the Hanoverian army. Fourteen thousand musquets of different calibres, with all the necessary accoutrements, 80 pieces of cannon, and 3868 cavalry horses are at this moment in our possession.——I add to this, a copy of the stipulations with the Hanoverian army. It is engaged not to serve against France or her allies, until exchanged against an equal number of French prisoners made by England. Three hundred of the finest horses have been selected for the cavalry of the guard. The Hanoverian horses are handsome, and of a good breed, but they suffered in some degree at Lauenburgh, through the want of forage. All the French artillery taken in the war of 1756 and the following years, is now on its way to France. Eighty flat bottomed boats are about to be constructed on the Elbe and the Weser.——A Russian flotilla is arrived at Rostock, a port belonging to Mechlenberg. It consists of a vessel of 74 guns, three frigates and eleven sloops or gallies. The Russian fleet is generally seen with pleasure in a state of action, as it may prevent the scene before Copenhagen being renewed; for it is impossible that a measure so arbitrary and so contrary to every principle as that which England has adopted in blockading the Elbe and the Weser, not only against French vessels, but against those of all nations, should not rouse the indignation of all in Europe, who are alive to the honour and sovereignty of nations.——Health and respect,

ED. MORTIER.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Circular Letter from Lord Hobart to the Lord Lieutenants of Counties.

Downing-Street, July 30, 1803.

MY LORD,——In obedience to his Majesty's commands, I have the honour to transmit a printed copy of the Act "to amend and render more "effectual an Act passed in the present Session "of Parliament, intituled, 'An Act to enable his "Majesty more effectually to provide for the Defence and Security of the Realm, during the present War, and for indemnifying Persons who "may suffer in their Property by such Measures "as may be necessary for that purpose; and to "enable his Majesty more effectually and speedily to exercise his ancient and undoubted prerogative in requiring the Military Services of his "liege subjects in case of invasion of the Realm," and to direct your Lordship to take immediate measures for carrying the provisions of it into effect in the county of Sussex.—In adverting to the 29th clause of the Act, your Lordship will observe, that, in order to prevent the delay, which must necessarily arise, if the training and exercise in the respective counties should be protracted until the several returns of the different classes required by the Act have been completed, provision has been made by Parliament that a certain proportion may be trained in the first instance, and I have it in command from his Majesty to direct that the proportion should not be less than six times the amount of the Militia ordered to be raised under the forty second of the King, exclusive of the Supplementary quota.——The Officer in the command of the District will be directed to furnish your Lordship with a plan of instructions for Drill and Exercise, which will be recommended for general adoption.——With a view to the further progress of this important measure, it is the decided opinion of his Majesty's confidential Servants, that, in all places where Volunteer Corps can be formed, upon such conditions as his Majesty shall approve, it would be desirable that every encouragement should be given for that purpose; such an arrangement being calculated to concentrate the force, to promote the convenience of the public, and to render it unnecessary to have recourse to the compulsory clauses of the Act.——It can scarcely be necessary for me to point out to your Lordship the difficulty of issuing Arms from his Majesty's stores for the extensive training and exercise required under this Act, without material injury to the other essential branches of his Military Service; I must therefore, earnestly recommend to your Lordship to resort to the zeal and public spirit of the inhabitants of the county under your charge, for the purpose of procuring a return of the arms in their possession, in order that, with their consent, they may for a time be applied to the service of the country, and that your Lordship would take measures for distributing them in the manner that may appear to you most conducive to the object in view; twenty-five firelocks being considered sufficient for the purpose of drilling one hundred men. This information will materially assist Government in forming the necessary arrangements with a view to such a further supply of arms as circumstances may require.——Your Lordship will be sensible that the effect of this Act must in a great degree depend upon the activity and exertion which are applied in carrying the provisions of it into execution; and I am persuaded that in a conjuncture like the present your Lordship will experience the most zealous co-operation and assistance from the gentlemen of the county of Sussex, as well as from individuals of every description.—The object of the Act is to obtain such a force, in addition to that which has already been provided, as may enable his Majesty to avert or frustrate the attack with which this country is threatened, and by combining economy with vigour, to continue the contest so long as it may be necessary for the honour and security of the British Empire.——Your Lordship will understand that this communication is made under the impression of the inexpediency of establishing a Voluntary Force, to the extent now proposed, upon the allowances specified in the printed regulations transmitted in the

course of this year, and I am persuaded that in the offers for service when your Lordship will be called upon to submit for his Majesty's acceptance, fresh proofs will be afforded of the liberality and public spirit which have been so justly excited by the inordinate ambition and avowed intentions of the enemy.——I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c. HOBART.

To the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Sussex.

Address from the Lord Lieutenant of Sussex to the Nobility, Gentlemen, and other Inhabitants of the County.

In obedience to the directions of the foregoing letter, and of the Act of Parliament therein referred to, I lose no time in most earnestly recommending to the Nobility and Gentlemen of the County of Sussex, to promote offers for raising Volunteer Corps, in all places where they can be formed, upon such conditions as his Majesty shall approve, such arrangement being calculated to concentrate the force, to promote the convenience of the public, and to render it unnecessary to have recourse to the compulsory clauses of the Act. These Corps furnishing as much as possible their own arms, or such as the zeal and public spirit of their neighbours having in their possession such as may be fit for this purpose, may supply them with, twenty-five firelocks being considered sufficient by Government, in the first instance, for drilling one hundred men, and as it is deemed inexpedient to establish a voluntary force to the extent now proposed, upon the allowances specified in the printed regulations that were transmitted in the course of this year, it is on the liberality and public spirit of the County that I must, and do, confidently rely, for such offers of service as I shall have to submit for his Majesty's acceptance. ——I am forthwith directed, and request from the zeal of the inhabitants, a return of such arms (fit for Volunteer Corps) as may be in their possession, in order that, with their consent they may for a time be applied to the service of the country. They will be pleased to send such returns to Mr. William Ellis, at Horsham, the Clerk of the General Meetings of the Lieutenancy.—We have every reason to be thankful for this Act, referred to in the above letter, which, with a just attention to public œconomy and without taking individuals from their necessary avocations, or subjecting them to further burthens, is so well calculated to repel invasion, tho' ever so powerful, by arming the whole people in their own defence, and perfectly sensible, as is expressed in the above letter, that the effect of this Act must in a great degree depend upon the activity and exertion which are applied in carrying the provisions of it into execution. I am persuaded with his Majesty's Government, that, in a conjuncture like the present, I shall experience the most zealous co operation and assistance from the gentlemen of this county, as well as from individuals of every description; I have only to add, that no effort that I may remain capable of, shall ever be wanting to give effect to the zeal and exertions of this county, or to assist in any way in which I can hope to be useful for its defence, in conformity to those sentiments which have lately been so fully expressed in the dutiful and unanimous address of this county to his Majesty, on the present state of the country.——I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

RICHMOND, &c.

Whitehall, August 2, 1803.

Circular Letter from the Admiralty to the Commander of Fencible districts, &c.

Admiralty-Office, August 6, 1803.

SIR,——My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty being desirous of obtaining the best possible information respecting the Coasts of this Kingdom I have it in command from their Lordships to signify their direction to you, to proceed along that part of the coast within the limits of the district under your command, and, having made a careful examination thereof, to lose no time in transmitting to me, for their Lordships' information, a particular and circumstantial account of such situations as may appear to you to be most exposed to the landing of an enemy—the difficulty or easiness of access thereto—with your remarks upon the winds which may occasion more or less surf upon that part of the coast—and also, with what winds, and in what place or places, a landing may be effected by boats, with the tide most suitable for that purpose.——You are, at the same time, to point out such parts of the coast within your district as may be rendered by nature difficult of approach; and to make such other observations relative to the Creeks and Rivers, within the said limits, as may be necessary for their Lordships' information.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

Captain —— Commanding the Fencible District, &c. &c.

CIRCULAR.—*Downing-Street, Aug. 3, 1803.*

MY LORD,—In my letter of the 30th ult. I signified to your grace the opinion of His Majesty's confidential servants, that it would be inexpedient to establish a volunteer force to the extent proposed under the Act of the 43d of the KING, cap. 96, upon the allowances specified in the printed regulations; and although in many instances the persons forming new corps have intimated their intention of putting the government to no expense, it could not be expected, however liberal and public-spirited the disposition of individuals may be, that such an arrangement would become general.—I am, therefore, in obedience to His Majesty's commands, to acquaint your grace, that volunteer corps of Infantry, to be established in conformity to the provisions of the before recited act, will be at liberty to draw the following allowances:—Twenty shillings per man for clothing once in every three years, and one shilling per day for twenty days exercise within the year; provided such an allowance be not drawn for any exercise on a Sunday, nor for any man exercising on a week day, who shall not also have been trained on the preceding Sunday, unless prevented by illness, or such other cause as shall be deemed satisfactory by the commanding officer of the corps, and certified accordingly.—In addition to these allowances your grace will observe, that every person belonging to the respective corps raised under the said act, will be entitled, if called out into actual service, to the several sums specified in the 59th and 60th clauses thereof.—The necessity of the earliest attention being given to the training and exercise is so generally felt, that I am persuaded your grace's instructions for that purpose will have their due weight, and that they will be framed with a proper regard, as far as is consistent with the urgency of the present conjuncture, to local circumstances, and to the course of industry and cultivation within the county of Sussex.—I am further to acquaint your grace,

that no allowance will be made for clothing and appointments to any persons who may, from this time, enter into the yeomanry corps; but as by the 31st clause of the act it is provided, that any person who shall repair on horseback, properly mounted, armed and accoutred, at his own expence, may serve in any regiment or corps of cavalry, and shall not be compelled to serve in any regiment or corps of infantry, I am to signify His Majesty's pleasure, that the corps of yeomanry already established should be permitted to receive individuals so mounted, armed and accoutred, into their several corps, or that seperate corps of yeomanry may be formed of the persons so willing to serve, provided that no additional charge, under the head of contingencies, is brought upon government beyond that which is authorised by the existing regulations.—I have the honour to be, &c. HOBART.

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN. — Early in last February a great battle was fought, in the East, between the army of the King of Cochin China, and that of the King of Tonquin. The action continued for three days, and, after the slaughter of 20,000 men, terminated in favour of the King of Tonquin. The King of Cochin China is supported by the Emperor: and the King of Burmah, having assembled a large force, sent a deputation to Langione to induce the King of Laos to join the league against the Cochin Chinese.—Mana Ibrahim, the Turkish robber, whose appearance on the frontiers of Wallachia had spread such terror throughout the province, has been attacked in his rear by Sarpenik Oglou, a rival bandit, and been compelled to retire into Moldavia.—The new French Envoy, Cardinal and Archbishop Fesch, arrived at Rome on the 1st of last month; and a public consistory was held on the 7th, when he took the customary oath as Cardinal, and received, from the hands of the Pope, the symbols of his dignity. — A squadron is fitting out, at Venice, to protect the Austrian trade in the Adriatic, against the pirates who infest that sea.—M. Karpoff late secretary of legation to the Russian embassy at the Court of the King of Sardinia, has departed for Naples, where he will reside as Chargé d'Affaires in behalf of the Emperor.—A very general impressment of men, for both the land and sea services, has been made throughout the kingdom of Spain.—The First Consul is now on his return to Paris, where, it is thought, he will remain but a short time; and then set out on a tour to Brittany.—It is said that M. Schimmelpenninck, lately ambassador at the Court of London, will hold some very important office in the Batavian Republic.

DOMESTIC.—The tumults which lately disturbed Ireland have subsided; and, although the examinations which daily take place, bring to light some new ramifications of the conspiracy, yet there is reason to believe that the measures which government is now enforcing in that country will prevent any immediate rebellion. Military law has been declared, and, in several parts, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act has been proclaimed, and, the yeomanry ordered on permanent duty. More of the conspirators are constantly apprehended, and a reward of £50 each has been offered for the first hundred persons who may be discovered to have been engaged in the insurrection of the 23d of July. — On Sunday last, the inhabitants of Portsmouth and its vicinity were alarmed at the appearance of a strange fleet in the Channel. The most active measures for defence were immediately began: the troops hastened to the beach, and the sea fencibles were instantly embarked. But, in the midst of all this zealous preparation, it was discovered that the cause of their terror was a fleet of Coasters and Americans.—On the 8th instant, a motion was brought forward, in the House of Peers, by the Earl of Suffolk, for the appointment of a military council, and, after some discussion, was negatived without a division. On the 10th, after a long debate, the thanks of the House of Commons were voted, on the motion of Mr. Sheridan, to the volunteers who had come forward in defence of the kingdom. The Hon. Mr. Hutchinson brought forward a motion in the House of Commons, on the 11th, for information respecting the late rebellion in Ireland, and the present state of that country; this motion after a long debate was negatived. On the 12th His Majesty went in state, to the House of Peers, and prorogued Parliament to Thursday the sixth of October next.

MILITARY.—On the 3d of July Gen. St. Cyr left Naples, where he had been received with the most distinguished respect, to join that part of the Gallo-Italian army of observation, which is stationed in the province of Apuglia. A large division still remains in the Abruzzos, and an additional force of 80,000 men is on its march.—Gen. Mortier states, in a letter to the minister of war, that the French army in Hanover is in good condition; that 14,000 muskets, 80 pieces of artillery, and 3,868 horses belonging to the Hanoverian troops are in its possession; and that preparations are making on the Elbe and the Weser, for con-

structing 80 flat-bottomed boats, for the invasion of England.—In some of the German Gazettes, it is stated that 5,000 French troops are to be sent into Minden; that 15,000 are on their march, by Zwoll, Meppen, and Haselune, to Vechte, whither 10,000 more are to follow; that a powerful division has been ordered to occupy the Duchy of Bremen; and that a strong camp will be formed near Cuxhaven.—The present regular force in Ireland, comprizes the 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 21st, 32d, 36th, 38th, 44th, 45th, 46th, 50th, 56th, 58th, 62d, 67th, 71st, 72d, 79th, 82d, 89th, 90th, 93d, and 96th Regiments, and Queen's German Regiment, four Garrison Battalions, several Corps of Horse and Foot Artillery, the 2d and 4th Dragoon Guards, the 3d, 12th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 21st Light Dragoons. The Garrison of Dublin consists of the 21st, 32d, and 62d Regiments of Dragoon Guards, and 16th Light Dragoons, and Cavan Militia. In addition to this force, government is now employed in sending considerable reinforcements from England.

NAVAL.—On the 28th of May, Captain Sutton, in the Victory, captured the French frigate l'Ambuscade, of 32 guns and 187 men; thirty days from Cape François and bound to Rochfort. On the 28th of June, Capt. De Putron, in the Alarm, captured the French schooner La Legere, of 14 brass swivels, 2 brass 4-pounders and 36 men; bound from Rochfort to Senegal. On the 16th July, Capt. Paget, in the Endymion, captured the French Store-ship L'Ardour, of 20 guns; bound from Martinique to Rochfort. On the 24th Capt. Hamond, in the Plantagenet, captured the French privateer Le Courier de Terre Neuve, of 4 guns and 50 men, nine days from Abreverack. On the 27th Capt. Hamond. also captured the French privateer L'Atalante, of 22 guns and 120 men, six days from Bourdeaux. On the same day, Capt. Fleming, in the Egyptienne, captured the French brig L'Epervoir, of 16 guns and 90 men, bound from Guadaloupe to L'Orient.—Letters from Naples state that Lord Nelson, immediately on his arrival at Malta, took measures to prevent all communication with Sicily, and to command the two channels leading from the Archipelago and the Adriatic. His Lordship, in the Amphion frigate, joined the Mediterranean fleet off Toulon on the 8th ult. The squadron, then under his command, consisted of the Kent, 74, Adm. Sir R. Bickerton and Capt. O'Bryen; Donegal, 80, Adm. Sir R. J. Strachan; Superb, 74, Capt. Keats; Triumph, 74, Capt. Sir R. Barlow; Monmouth, 64, Capt. Hart; Gibraltar, 80, Capt. Ryves; Agincourt, 64, Capt. Briggs; Belleisle, 74, Capt. Whitby; Renown, 74, Capt. White; the Medusa, Amphion, and Termagant frigates; and the Weasel brig: the Victory and Capt. Campbell, were daily expected to join them. They were constantly within two miles of the enemy's fleet, which consisted of nine sail of the line, and five frigates.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

VOTE OF THANKS TO THE VOLUNTEER CORPS.—This is, perhaps, at once the most foolish and the most fatal measure that ever was adopted even by the present ministry. Of the motives, from which it was brought forward and from which was consented to by the ministers I shall speak by-and-by: at present I beg the reader to follow me through a few observations on the debate, to which the motion gave rise, and on the effect, which its adoption will produce.——MR. SHERIDAN, who made the motion, stated, amongst other things, that Volunteer Corps, were the *natural* force of the country, a force the *most congenial to the constitution*, a force *less likely to be corrupted* than a regular army, and that, the persons composing the Volunteer Corps now existing, having come forward in so *patriotic and gallant* manner, merited the thanks of the Parliament.——Mr. Windham was willing to join in commending the zeal of those persons who had enrolled themselves in Volunteer Corps, but he disliked the vote of thanks, because such a vote was premature; it was to thank men before they had done any thing more than to obey the law and to seek their own preservation; it was to render cheap that which had long been regarded as one of the highest honours; it was to make an invidious distinction between the regular army and the volunteers; and, it was to give such a sanction to the system of Volunteer Corps as would nullify all the provisions lately made for the purpose of obtaining a more efficient force, and for infusing into the people a martial spirit.——Mr. WILBERFORCE, Mr. WILLIAM SMITH, and COLONEL CRAUFURD, expressed their objections to the motion upon grounds similar to those taken by Mr. WINDHAM. Lord HAWKESBURY, speaking for the ministry, approved of the motion, not because the volunteers had done any thing worthy of thanks (for he expressly stated, that they had only obeyed the law), but because the vote was "founded in a wise *policy*;" not because the persons,

who were the objects of praise, had performed any gallant achievement, but because "the *circumstances of the times* requir-"ed such a stimulus to action," and because, in case of future invasions, "poste-"rity might have *the benefit of example.*" ——Mr. SHERIDAN, in exercising his privilege of replying, charged Colonel Craufurd, whom he called the "*Regular* Colonel," with having said, that the volunteers ought not now to be thanked, because the Regulars were not thanked for their conduct during the mutiny, and drew a conclusion, that the *greatest merit*, which the Colonel appeared to be able to attribute to his favourite sort of troops, *consisted in their not having merited an ignominious death.* This having been pretty correctly stated by the newspaper publishers, who have taken care to leave out the explanation of Colonel Craufurd, it is a duty incumbent upon me, who heard the debate, to convey, to my readers at least, a true report of the matter. ——Mr. SHERIDAN, as I have above observed, did, in his opening speech, urge, as one reason why Volunteer Corps were preferable to regular regiments, that the latter, as in the case of the French regular army, were more likely to be *corrupted*, and to turn their arms against the government that employed them. An insinuation so injurious to the British army (for when I say *army*, I mean the regulars *only*) could not possibly be passed over in silence by any officer of that army, particularly by the honourable Colonel, who, therefore, called the recollection of the House to the conduct of the army during the mutiny in the fleet, when the Jacobins, taking advantage of the time, sent a circular letter to every regiment, on one and the same day, informing the soldiers of each regiment respectively, that those of every other regiment had already made a successful resistance to their officers. This temptation to mutiny, the Colonel observed, was resisted by every corps in the service; the whole army remained faithful and obedient; to that fidelity and that obedience, the kingdom owed its preservation from anarchy, devastation, and blood; and, therefore, against this army no suspicions ought to be thrown out, no imputation of being liable to be corrupted, no charge of resembling any army by whom a sovereign had been deserted and betrayed.—This is the substance of what Colonel Craufurd stated; and, I leave the reader to say, whether he herein asked for a vote of thanks to the regular regiments for their conduct during the mutiny in the fleet, and whether he appeared to regard the greatest merit of the army to consist in their *not having merited an ignominious death!* The Colonel might have remarked, as to the instance of the French, that it was *the Volunteers*, and *not* the Regulars, amongst whom the defection began. It was with the former, and not with the latter, that the disloyal, base, bloody, insolent, and cowardly Citizen Fayette, so often eulogized by Mr. Sheridan, hunted the Royal Family from place to place, led them prisoners to their capital, and finally effected their ruin together with that of the monarchy. ——As to the fatal effects, which this vote of thanks will produce, I think they must be evident to every man. It does, as Mr. Windham observed, give a decided sanction to a system of Volunteer Corps, and such a sanction must inevitably nullify every provision that has been made, or that can, while this system exists, be made for the purpose of obtaining an efficient force of a magnitude equal to the exigencies of the case. To say that Volunteer Corps are the "*natural* force of the country," and that such a force is most "*congenial to the constitution*," is mere prattle. What is meant by "the *natural* force of a country?" Is it natural for pampered and effeminate persons to take the field, while the robust and hardy are left at home in the barns or the workshops? And, where, I should like to know, has Mr. SHERIDAN found a congeniality between a system of Volunteer Corps, and a constitution, which according to the very title of the last Defence Bill, fully authorizes his Majesty to *compel* every one of his subjects to come forth and fight in defence of the realm?—This vote of thanks *destroys all thoughts of raising any sort of force except Volunteer Corps*; Volunteer Corps in the technical sense of the word. Well, then, what will these corps consist of, what are the intentions and what will be the conduct of the persons of whom they are composed, and what will be their use, in case they could be called into the field?—The corps will consist chiefly of merchants, master manufacturers and mechanics, and their sons, in some cases their clerks. The farmers and their sons are already, for the most part, swallowed up in yeomanry cavalry; but, then, there are the master mechanics and their sons, together with the innumerable host of heroic shopkeepers, to which latter body Mr. SHERIDAN seems particularly anxious to make his court.—There is no one of these corps but will have a fancy uniform, a suit of which will not cost, at the least farthing, less than seven or eight pounds. This, were there no other obstacle, would operate as an ef-

fectual bar to the enrollment of *journeymen* and *labourers*, whose exclusion is, indeed, one of the principal objects with those who have formed themselves into Volunteer Corps, but on whose arms, I am fully convinced, this country must finally rely for its defence. The *bones* and *sinews* of the country being thus, in a great degree, excluded, the same cause next extends itself to the *youth* and the *health* of the country. The *classification* of the General Defence Bill, defective as it was, would have brought forward, in the first requisition, no man above *thirty* years of age; but, the Volunteer Corps system admits men of all ages from seventeen to *fifty-five* inclusive. In a former paper, written upon this subject, I stated my objections founded on the disparity of temper, habits, and prospects of men, some of whom would be thirty and others only seventeen years of age, some married and others single, some having houses and trading establishments, and others having none. That this objection was by no means futile has, I believe, been allowed by every Member of Parliament; and, with how much greater force does it apply to a body of men including all ages up to fifty-five?—The classification of the bill did, too, exclude persons having more than one child; but, the system now adopted makes no such exclusion: the more a man is loaded with cares, the more his heart leans towards home, the stronger and more numerous are the ligatures which bind him to a love of life, the more fit this system supposes him for chearfully marching on a distant and dangerous service! —But, are the persons composing the Volunteer Corps *prepared* so to march and so to adventure? Is it with any *such intention* that they have enrolled, or offered to enroll, themselves? Who that has observed the *time* of this enrollment, and that considers the *propensities* of the persons enrolled, will venture to answer these questions in the affirmative? The war has been declared nearly three months: the prospect of invasion was coeval with that declaration; yet not one of the 280,000 men, who are now said to have rushed forward for the defence of their country, ever dreamt of making such a movement, till *a law* was passed for *enforcing* a general enrollment, and an *immediate training* of *all* men, with very few exceptions, under thirty years of age. Then, and not till then, did we perceive that patriotic spirit, with the praises of which Mr. SHERIDAN chooses to weedle the shop-keeping throng. Far be it from me to say, or to think, that *none* of the persons, who have enrolled themselves in Volunteer Corps, have so done from patriotic and gallant motives; far be it from me to affix such a stigma on my country as to suppose that 280,000 of her sons have assumed the name of Volunteers merely as a screen from the dangers of actual service; but, when I reflect on the propensities of the persons enrolled, and on the time of enrollment, I must bid adieu to my senses before I can believe, that any very considerable portion of them have taken the military habit with an intention of leaving their homes, and of venturing their lives in the field of battle. The motives of this species of volunteering are, 1. to *keep out of low company*. The merchant wishes to avoid the shopper, the shop-keeper to avoid the mechanic, and all of them to avoid the labourer and the servant; and, as the higher, or rather, the richer classes, can, by the means of regulations of expense, exclude those, with whom they dislike to associate, a subaltern aristocracy arises, an aristocracy of *wealth*, a loathsome ulcer that seldom makes its appearance till the body politic be already sinking under a complication of diseases.—2. *To prevent journeymen, apprentices, labourers, and servants from being forced out to the drill.* That the masters and their sons should step forward as volunteers, with no other view than that of saving their underlings from bearing the vexation and fatigue of drilling, would, indeed, be rather wonderful, if, by so doing, they did not keep the said underlings *at work*. The fact is, that, if a master, who does little more than look about him during the day, can, by going to drill himself, keep his apprentice, or his servant of any description, at home, his own time is very well employed. If he be a man, who works himself, drill is a relaxation when compared to labour of any sort, and, as the relaxation must be enjoyed either by his apprentice, his journeyman, his servant, or himself, it is by no means difficult to divine the party to whom his sense of justice will direct him to allot it.——3. Another motive for volunteering, is, not an eager desire to fight the French, but a desire of quite a contrary nature; and, the ministers may be well assured, that, for the great number of volunteers, who have already offered, they are considerably indebted to the notion, that volunteer-corps will never be marched out of their own districts, or, *at worst*, never be put under *martial law*. Whether this latter be a false notion or not, I cannot pretend to say; for the law has been so often altered and amended, that, at last, nobody knows the meaning of it; but

this I do know, that, if it had been well understood, amongst the persons, to whom the thanks of Parliament have been voted, that they would become liable to be tried by the mutiny act; that a court-martial of three subaltern officers would be able to sentence any one of them to receive a thousand lashes; if this had been well understood, I am certain, that the number of persons to be thanked, would not have been very great. The truth is, I believe, that those who, since the passing of the General Defence Bill, have entered into volunteer-corps, think that their corps stand upon precisely the same footing as the volunteer-corps, whose services were accepted previous to that period. If such be their notion, therefore, they are cruelly deceived, or the nature of their engagements is such as to render them perfectly useless in case of invasion; for, without being liable to be marched to any part of the kingdom, it is a thousand to one, that, in the hour of emergency, they will not be found where they are wanted; and, without being completely subject to martial law, there is no General in his senses, who would suffer them to come within half a dozen miles of his army. These are very important points to be elucidated: are the volunteer-corps, whose services are now to be accepted, liable to be marched to any part of the kingdom? And are they, when called into actual service, to be subject to martial law? Immediate satisfaction ought to be given as to these two points. Nothing, as to the conditions, on which the men are to serve, ought to remain for an hour longer misunderstood, or not understood at all, in one of which cases the law now is, with respect even to the magistrates. Let it also be understood, whether or not, men, who have once enrolled themselves in a Volunteer Corps, can *quit* the said corps; and, if they can, under what circumstances; for, it would be perfectly childish to place any reliance upon corps, the very existence of which depends upon the will of the persons composing them. Is there any provision to *insure* the drilling of the Volunteer Corps? Are there any means devised to prevent sick, decrepid, feeble, or inflated men from filling up those glorious muster-rolls, which are, it seems, to grace the Journals of the House of Commons? Is there any plan fixed upon for bringing out the several corps, and, for marching them, before an invasion takes place, twenty or thirty miles in a day, loaded with their arms, accoutrements, ammunition, and knapsack, for the purpose of trying their wind and strength? It may, to some persons, appear rather rude to ask questions like these, as relating to corps, on whom the House of Commons have bestowed a reward far greater than that which they bestowed on the fleet of the Nile or the army of Egypt; but, to these Volunteer Corps we are now taught to look as to the last hope of our country; it, therefore, becomes us seriously to examine into the real situation of these bulwarks; for, in this, as in all other cases, nothing is so fatal as *the deceiving of ourselves*. An army of regulars must be met by an army of regulars, or the advantage is all on one side. I hope, that the regular army has been considerably recruited since March last, and I trust, that great aid would, in case of necessity, be derived from the militia; from the corps now spoken of, if properly managed, additional assistance may be obtained; but, unless the regular army goes on increasing, I must confess, that my hopes diminish; and, the great objection which I have to a system of Volunteer Corps, is, that it completely destroys the effect of that part of the Defence Bill, which, with a little alteration, might have became so admirably calculated for sending young men into the regular army, and for rendering us a military people. —— There were several other interesting topics, which arose during the debate on the Vote of thanks. I will just mention them here; postponing, for want of room, a discussion of them till my next. 1. The sort of force which Mr. Windham at first proposed instead of Volunteer corps; 2. The maxims of passive obedience and of oblivion, recommended by Mr. Sheridan; 3. The *deficiency of arms*, occasioned by a shameful neglect on the part of ministers; 4. The Charge against Mr. Windham of *having caused the present war*, by persuading Buonaparté that the ministers were a low, pusillanimous, and selfish crew, who would submit to any thing rather than break the peace; on which I cannot help making one observation: either it was desirable to keep peace, or it was not; if it was, the ministers should have resigned their places to men, to whom Mr. Windham could not, or would not have imputed selfishness and pusillanimity; if it was not desirable to keep peace, then Mr. Windham is entitled to praise for having encouraged the enemy to pursue that line of conduct, by which it was finally broken. The position on which I am here observing, was explicitly stated, both by Mr. Addington and Mr. Sheridan; and, it does, I think, amount to an ample confession of that imbecility, of that want of political character, which Mr. Windham has

always attributed to the ministers. What does it confess? why, that we owe the present war to the opinion which Buonaparté imbibed from the statements of Mr. Windham; and that, as the statements of the ministers were always in contradiction to those of Mr. Windham, that gentleman, though in a minority of *twenty-six*, had, as to the great question of peace or war, more influence than the ministry with their majority of *six hundred* — A 5th topic which I should have liked to dwell a little upon, was, that of *peace*. Mr. Sheridan, who as far as the opinions of the people are concerned, always endeavours to keep his dish even, having leant a little to the side of war, thought it necessary to bring himself up on that of peace. He approved the *war*-like attitude of the country, because it was the only one which could lead to *peace*; but, lest he should have gone rather too far on the peace side, he qualified his desire for that event, by declaring, that he himself would accuse, of high treason, any minister who should enter into negotiations for peace, while . . . . . .While *what*, think you? While any part of an invading French army remained on *British ground!!!* Oh! valiant gentleman! If this be his *project*, what will be his *ultimatum?* Ah! Mr. Sheridan, Buonaparté will not believe you, I am afraid, so implicitly as he believed Mr. Windham. Low, cast-off English jests, though they set the stupid galleries in a roar, though they bring forth an eulogium from "the sitting part of Mr. Pitt," cut but a poor figure in translation. It is there that speeches find their true value, and accordingly, yours are seldom translated.—A 6th point, was the accusation brought against Mr. Windham for not having, during *his* administration, brought forward the measures of defence, which he now wishes to be adopted; and here I shall only remark, at present, that Mr. Sheridan and Lord Hawkesbury both declared, that the danger of the country, as to invasion, *was greater in* 1798, *than it is at this moment*; yet Mr. Sheridan, who *now* calls for *perfect silence* as to the conduct of ministers, because it is a crisis of so great peril, did, during 1798, during that time of *greater peril*, keep up a *loud and incessant opposition*, in which he was joined by all the Jacobins in the country. Lord Hawkesbury stated, that France had now more troops *abroad* than she had in 1798: she has, said he, "an army in Naples, another in Upper Italy, "another in Switzerland, another in the "*North of Germany*." There he stopped, or, to the other *diversions* of French force, he might have added, the *army in Holland*; which, though intended for the invasion of England, would have been cited with nearly as much propriety as the army which is employed in completing the conquest of our Sovereign's hereditary dominions. But there is much more to be said upon this topic another time. A 7th point was, the question put to Mr. Sheridan, by Mr. Francis, relative to the *Council of War*, and also to the *application of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales*. Mr. Francis said, that he was glad to hear Mr. Sheridan call upon the House to join him in a cordial approbation and support of Ministers, because it must be thence concluded, that they had given him *satisfaction* on these two important subjects. Mr. Sheridan's reply was embarrassed and evasive. He said that, as to the Council of War, though he had supported and voted for the measure a few nights before, he had since heard from *very high authority*, reasons which had *changed his opinion on the subject*; and that, as to the application of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, though his respect and veneration for that illustrious personage were unalterable, yet, said he, "I am not to be "told, that, unless the offer made by his "Royal Highness shall be treated in a manner satisfactory to my honourable friend "[Mr Francis], I shall decline to support "His Majesty's government on his *trying* "*occasion!*" This was a sad limping retreat, and it fully confirmed what was before suspected, that his Royal Highness had, in the zeal of Mr. Sheridan, been supplanted by his more opulent rival, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I cannot say that I am sorry for this: his Royal Highness will no longer lie under the imputation of Mr. Sheridan's being what he has long affected to style himself, the *Prince's Cabinet Counsellor*, an imputation on the effect of which it is not necessary to dwell. The treatment, which his Royal Highness has received, appears to have excited astonishment amongst all those, who are not acquainted with the cause of it, and indignation amongst those, who are acquainted with that cause. Yet Mr. Sheridan, who is tremblingly alive to every word uttered against the ministry, who, upon the slightest insinuation against them, starts forth a *volunteer*, armed *cap-à-pie*, can patiently put up with this outrageous insult upon the Heir Apparent to the throne. The manner, in which his Royal Highnesses has been refused, is the most insulting that could possibly have been adopted. No direct refusal; no *reasons* why the offer is not accepted; no *apology* of any

sort ; nothing but neglect, the most insolent of all possible modes of expressing contempt. That Mr. Addington made some sort of answer to his Royal Highness there can be no doubt: that answer might, too, be respectful enough; but, what does the nation and the world know of this? They are acquainted with nothing but the mortifying fact, that his Royal Highness made an earnest application to be employed in defence of his country and of the people who must one day be his subjects, and that Mr. Addington and Lord Hawkesbury refused to permit him so to do. Thus stands the fact, in the eyes of the world; and, if it so remains, what will not the malice of that world say of His Royal Highness? The question universally asked is, *what can be the* REASON *of this refusal?* The answer varies according to the knowledge and dispositions of the person answering; but, it is easy to imagine the end to which such an inquiry must frequently lead; and I scruple not to assert, that the ministers, by this act, have done a mischief, to the family of their Royal Master, greater even than that which their administration has produced in Hanover.—The 8th and last point, which it was my wish to investigate, was the charge preferred against Mr. Windham, of having endeavoured to procure *unnecessary delay* with respect to the measures required for the safety of Ireland. This charge, which had already been industriously circulated through the news papers, was, during the debate of the 10th, carefully revived by Mr. Archdall and Mr. Sheridan; the latter of whom observed, that it was no wonder that the Right Hon. Gentleman, who had required twenty-four hours to determine whether rebellion ought to be put a stop to in Ireland, should require six hours debate before he would consent to a vote of thanks to the Volunteers. As to the six hours debate Mr. Windham took up only about half an hour of it; and the allegation, with respect to his opinion relative to the address, in answer to the Message was no better founded. When the Message came before the House, he proposed, either to defer the consideration of it to the next day, according to the established usage of parliament, or to return an address, containing a general declaration of the sentiments of the House, and, then, to bring in a bill, or bills, after the House should be in possession of *some official information as to the state of Ireland.* And, let me ask any man of sense, whether this mode of proceeding would not have been the most proper. Mr. Windham had no objection to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, or to the introduction of Martial Law; but, was he to give his consent to these measures without possessing, as to the necessity of them, any other information than what had reached him through the news-papers? If that were the case, his office, as a member of parliament, would be rather worse than ridiculous. The precedent of the Irish Parliament, on the 22d of May, 1798, was cited; but there was very little analogy in the cases. The Lord Lieutenant then stated to the House, "that the "city, at the request of the magistrates, "had been put under military authority, by "the 36th of His Majesty (Irish Act Parl.) "Intelligence had been received, that the "disaffected had formed a plan for attacking the capital in the present month; "every military precaution had been taken, "and a full communication had been made "to the magistrates for the direction of "their efforts." Even in an exigency so pressing, Lord Castlereagh, who brought down the message, thought it necessary to make a studied apology for the motion which he made for taking the message into consideration *forthwith*; and though it was well known to every member in the House, that government had intellegence, that an attempt on Dublin was intended to be made *that very night*, the only measure passed afterwards, during that evening, in consequence of the Message, was, a bill brought in by the Attorney General, not to introduce *martial law*, but to *authorize the Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer to hold their sessions during the Term!* How, then, let me ask, can this be cited as *precedent in point*? Observe, too, that even if a martial law bill had on that occasion, been passed the same evening, it by no means follows, that similar haste ought to have been yielded to in the present instance; because, though no *official* information, as to the state of Ireland and its capital, accompanied the message of May, 1798, yet it will be readily allowed, that a parliament sitting in the menaced capital itself, and composed entirely of Lords and Commons, having daily communication with every part of the country, must possess quite sufficient information, on the subject, to render it proper for them to proceed immediately to the passing or the rejecting of a martial law bill; whereas, the parliament at London, could know very little indeed of the state of Ireland; in fact, the members, generally speaking, could plead, as to the putting of that country under martial law, no other justification than what was to be found in the contradictory accounts, circulated through the diurnal

prints. The fallacy, with regard to the wish of Mr. Windham, consists in this: he has been said to have wished for *delay in passing the law*, whereas he wished only for the *delay necessary to the receiving of information sufficient to justify him in giving his consent to such a law*; provided that information were given, he was ready to pass the law without a moment's delay. The part which Mr. Sheridan has acted, in prefering this charge against Mr. Windham, is curious enough, particularly when compared with his conduct in 1798. After the government of Ireland had been obliged to adopt the measures, of which I have spoken above, the first proceeding, on Irish affairs, in the British Parliament, was a motion of MR. SHERIDAN'S, made on the 14th of June, "FOR A COMMITTEE TO INQUIRE INTO THE "STATE OF IRELAND," und this, too while *the rebellion was still raging* in the South, and when, according to the then-recived intelligence, it had just begun to appear in Antrim and the North! On the 18th of June, a message from the King was brought by Mr. Dundas, relative to the sending of a part of the English militia to Ireland. It was taken into consideration the *next day*, June 19th, and the original address was *opposed* by Mr. SHERIDAN, in a speech of great violence, during which he accused the ministers of stripping England of its *constitutional force*, and leaving it naked *to the bayonets of the regulars!*—This, this is the Gentleman, who now accuses Mr. Windham of clogging the wheels of government, and of endeavouring to obstruct the suppression of rebellion!—But, says Mr. Sheridan, the PRESENT is a *crisis of great peril*; not only all party animosities should *now* be forgotten; not only should there be no factious opposition to the ministers, but there should be, *neither in nor out of parliament, any censure whatever passed upon any part of their conduct.* And all this, *because* it is A TIME OF SUCH IMMINENT DANGER! Now, mark his consistency. We have seen what his conduct was in 1798; and no longer ago than Wednesday last, the 18th instant, he said, in his place in the House of Commons: "The late Secretary at War has maintained in the "course of this debate, and on other occasions, that our situation was by no means "so dangerous at any period of the late war "as at the present. To this assertion the "Noble Secretary of State has so ably answered, that I think it unnecessary to say "much, but *I insist that the perils of the country in the year* 1798 *were* MUCH SUPERIOR TO THOSE BY WHICH "WE ARE NOW MENACED!!!!!!" This passage I take verbatim from the Morning Chronicle of the 11th instant, and I declare, that I myself heard Mr. SHERIDAN utter the words. Such facts beggar all comment. And now, Mr. SHERIDAN may, as Mr. WINDHAM suggested, go and make his bow to each of the Volunteer Corps. He may, too, if he pleases, make them an offering of his *consistency*; of his *sagacity*, or his eulogium on the principles of Arthur O'Connor; of his "*true English feeling*," or his exultation at the successes of France; of his *humanity*, or his flatteries of Talien; of his *witticisms*, or of the newest edition of Joe Miller; of his "*respect for the Minister*," or of the political "*postilion*" and the "*sitting part* of Mr. Pitt;"* and, if they are not satisfied, even to surfeiting, with all this, let him present them with *his present abuse of Buonaparté*, contrasted with his former bombastical praises of "*the illustrious hero of* "*Marengo*."—It remains for me to say a few words as to the *motives*, in which I presume the vote of thanks originated. The reader will, doubtless, recollect, that, on the bill, which was brought in to amend the General Defence Bill, Messrs. Pitt, Fox, and Windham, all expressed their opinion in favour of a force *different* from Volunteer Corps, such as those that heretofore existed. This concurrence of opinion, upon a point of such great importance, together with a further concurrence in censuring the ministers for the general tardiness and inadequacy of their measures, excited a suspicion in the mind of Mr. Sheridan, that there was about to take place in the great talents of the country, some such union as would completely ecilpse his feeble though sparkling light. When once suspicion is awake, every trifling circumstance swells into a monstrous bulk; and accordingly, the debate and the division on the question of the Council of War, tended so strongly to confirm the notion already conceived by Mr. Sheridan, that he instantly resolved to bring forward such a motion as would, in some sort, compel the House to put an indirect negative on the joint opinions of Mess. Fox, Pitt, and Windham, and, as would, at the same time, give him an opportunity, if Mr. Fox happened to be absent, of decrying every attempt to remove the ministers from their places.—That his standing object, popularity, was not forgotten, it is reasonable

* Both these appellations were given to Mr. Addington by Mr. Sheridan, in the speech which the latter made, in the House of Commons, on the 14th of May, 1802. See Register, Vol. II. p. 1366.

to believe, and that he has views of emolument is also very probable; but there were other modes of keeping up his reputation with the multitude, and he would hardly think of sailing into office in the wake of Mr. Tierney. The motive first stated may therefore be regarded as the principal one. His popularity and his interest were, probably, not unconsidered: but his envy; his dread of being over-shadowed; his alarm at the prospect, or rather, at the possibility, of seeing a ministry who would contemn alike his enmity and his friendship; this was what he could not bear the thought of, and, therefore, with the views above-stated, he brought forward the motion, by which I have been led into this long, and, I am afraid tiresome train of observations.—Here I should dismiss the subject of Volunteer Corps, but, from what I have heard, even since I sat down to write, I am led to express my earnest wish, that the ministers would instantly make the *terms* and the *nature* of the service of the Volunteer Corps clearly understood; and, above all, I conjure them to leave no room for present doubts, and for future altercation, as to the grand question, whether these corps are, or are not, to be subject to *martial law*; for, there is nothing I should so much dread, because I am certain that nothing would be so likely to annihilate the government, as the leading of these men on under the notion of their being exempt from martial law, and finally compelling them, or attempting to compel them, to submit to that law. There is yet time; the corps are not yet embodied; they will always be ready to abide by the engagements which they make; let them, therefore, be instantly apprized of the nature of those engagements; let nothing be disguised, nothing palliated; let them know the full extent of all they have to do and all they have to suffer; and, if possible, let them have a foretaste of their duties before their engagements are ratified.

RUSSIA.——In the last Register, p. 180, it was stated, that Russia had views upon Malta, and that Prince CZARTORISKY was devoted to France.——From more recent and more authentic intelligence, this statement appears to be erroneous; and, it is believed, by those who are well acquainted with that subject, that COUNT ALEXANDER WORONZOW is by no means an enemy of England.——One fact may be regarded as certain: Russia does *not* disapprove of our blockade of the Elbe; and, as to the Russian ships in the Baltic their force is far too small to render them an object of serious attention, on the one side or on the other.—Upon the whole, the dispositions of Russia may, we are now well satisfied, be looked upon as favourable to this country.

IRELAND.——On the 11th instant, the Honourable MR. HUTCHINSON, pursuant to a notice which he gave some days before, brought forward, in the House of Commons, the following motion: "That an humble "address be presented to his Majesty, "praying that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions, that "there be laid before this House such information as has been received, respecting the late rebellious proceedings in Ireland, and also respecting the present state "of that part of the United Kingdom."—This motion gave rise to a long and interesting debate. It was introduced by an excellent speech, on the part of the Honourable mover, who was supported by Mr. Elliot, Mr. Windham, Dr. Lawrence, Lord Temple, and Colonel Crawford. The motion was opposed by Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Castlereagh, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Attorney-General. After a reply from Mr. Hutchinson, the question was put, and the motion negatived without a division.——It clearly appears, from what transpired in this debate, together with what has been communicated through other channels, that the Irish government was *completely surprised*.

☞ The Letter from MR. COBBETT to MR. SHERIDAN, which would have occupied two-thirds of the number, we have been compelled to leave out, or to exclude matter of a more pressing and more important nature; but, the letter shall certainly appear next week.—In the mean time, we think it necessary to acquaint our Correspondent VERAX, who has (from motives of friendship no doubt) transmitted us a long list of anecdotes respecting MR. SHERIDAN'S *private* character and conduct, that he has mistaken the object of our intended investigation, which will certainly be strictly confined to the character and conduct of MR. SHERIDAN, considered as a *public* man, and even as a *politician*, for as to his plays, players, and play-houses, we neither know, nor care, nor shall say, any thing.

*** We thank "AMERICANUS" for pointing out "the infamous libel upon Mr. Cobbett, which appeared in the *True Briton* and the *Sun* of Saturday the 6th instant," and he will, we imagine, not be either surprised or displeased to hear, that, in less than three hours after the libel was published, the libeller, Mr. HERIOT, received *personal chastisement*, in the very apartment where he had fabricated the libel.

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